

Stigmatization of Mental Disorders in Digital News Audience: A Case Study of Plane Crash News

Danielle Ka Lai Lee
City University of Hong Kong

Abstract

Traditional mass media have been regarded as one of the most critical socializing agents which stigmatize mental disorders, but not many studies have been conducted to investigate the role of new media in this regard. This exploratory study looked into the ways the digital news audience of an online newspaper portrayed depression through commenting on a series of a plane crash news, and applied Warranting Theory to examine the influences of the discussions on the attitudes of other audience towards mental disorders. Four commonly-held beliefs associated with depression were found in the discussions, but those beliefs demonstrated discrepancies from clinical diagnostic criteria for depression, implying the beliefs were far from accurate. Additionally, results substantiated the warranting values of the comments, showing other audience gave credence to and tended to endorse the comments although the comments were not scientifically supported. Lastly, detrimental effects of stigmatization found online and implications were discussed.

Introduction

Patients with mental disorders experience opposing consequences which are brought about by their diagnostic labels. On the bright side, severely disturbed patients would have augmented supports from their significant others upon receiving the clinical labels (Perry, 2011). Moreover, the labels enable convenient categorization of the patients, so then the patients and their core social networks would have clearer understanding of the exact situations and appropriate measures to take (Angermeyer & Matschinger, 2003). Therefore, the labels serve as signals for care and treatment guidelines for the patients.

Paradoxically, the labels of mental disorders could also wreak havoc on patients' social lives. As the general public would easily form negative notions towards the people associated with the medical descriptions, the patients would be more vulnerable to stigma and discrimination as a consequence. Not only could stigma put stress on the patients, it could also affect their empowerment and use of healthcare services unfavorably (Rüsch, Angermeyer & Corrigan, 2005). Therefore, other than having to deal with their own symptoms, the patients have to handle these social reactions as well. Moreover, some of them would endorse the negative notions themselves, paving the way to self-stigma (Rüsch, Angermeyer & Corrigan, 2005). From this point forward, the patients' self-identities would be framed by the stigma as they fall prey to labeling effect.

In order to uncover the origins of the stigma and its effects to the mentally afflicted, researchers from various disciplines have been looking into the dynamics of stigmatization and the roles of different socializing agents. With extensive investigations, it is evident that traditional mass media largely contribute to the formation and reinforcement of stigma for different mental disorders (e.g., Farina, 1998; Hyler, Gabbard, & Schneider, 1991; Wahl, 1995). Even though such media portrayal is popular, it is

often inaccurate. Yet, the portrayal has the capacity to influence the public's perceptions and subsequent behaviors, which may result in patients' marginalization (Rüsch, Angermeyer & Corrigan, 2005).

As people are spending much time on the internet every day and consuming unlimited information through virtual activities daily, online communication is becoming dominant around the globe (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Therefore, diverted from previous research which primarily focused on how the traditional media stigmatized mental conditions (e.g., Lawson & Fouts, 2004), the current study recognizes the need to investigate the roles of new media in this regard. It is believed that looking into the stigmatization of mental disorders under the virtual context helps enrich the extant literature.

Interactivity has been considered as a defining and significant characteristic for new media (Hennig-Thurau, Malthouse, Friege, Gensler, Lobschat, Rangaswamy & Skiera, 2010). With the "Web 2.0" feature (O'Reilly, 2005), the information consumers can actually interact with the information producers and other netizens through supportive gestures and replies or comments. Drawing upon the theoretical background of Warranting Theory (Walter & Parks, 2002), the present study aims at examining the emergence of stigma against mental disorders among netizens and exploring the attitudinal changes of other audience as they read through the threads.

Literature Review

Stigmatization of Mental Disorders

The concept of stigma was first articulated by Erving Goffman (1963). Based on his classic work about social construction of identity, Goffman regarded stigmatization as a dynamic social process leading to devaluation of a person. When the person is seen as being in stigmatized state, he or she would no longer be viewed as "normal". Instead, this stigmatized individual would be considered as being in a "discredited" social condition. The person is thought to have embodied undesirable traits, so he or she is excluded by the mainstream "normal" society (Cloke, Crang, & Goodwin, 2013). As a consequence, the attached stigma would block the individual from merging back into the mainstream society (Kleinman & Hall-Clifford, 2009).

As the concept draws attention from researchers of different schools of thought, it has been elaborated with multiple approaches (Kleinman & Hall-Clifford, 2009). Psychological interpretation has been one of the highly developed streams, as the concept is applied to discuss attitude internalization and behavior shaping. According to Corrigan (2000), stigma is made up of three attitudinal elements which include stereotype, prejudice and discrimination. For stigmatization of mental disorders, stereotype is regarded as any cognitive notions towards the mentally afflicted, and such ideas are agreed upon throughout the community. For prejudice, it is about emotional and cognitive reactions after the negative ideas are endorsed. Anyone who is prejudiced against the mentally afflicted would agree with the negative notions, and affective responses would be triggered subsequently. Therefore, emotional prejudice brings out behavioral discrimination against the patients (Angermeyer & Matschinger, 2003).

Stigmatization in Traditional and New Media

Research has demonstrated that traditional mass media are playing a crucial role in stigmatizing patients with mental disorders. Several negative stereotypes about mental disorders were consistently portrayed by the media and disseminated across public. In broadcast and print media (Farina, 1998), the mentally

afflicted are often described as murderous (Hyler, Gabbard, & Schneider, 1991), aggressive (Wahl, 1995; Wilson, Nairn, Coverdale, & Panapa, 1999) and deserve isolation (Wilson, Nairn, Coverdale, & Panapa, 1999). Besides, the patients are associated with naïve and ridiculous perceptions about the world. Last but not least, they are also depicted as troublemakers who always act defiantly and rebelliously (Rüsch, Angermeyer, & Corrigan, 2005).

Based on the concept of stigmatization, behavioral discrimination could be triggered after the stigma is endorsed. The stereotypical images about mental disorders could instill fear in the audience (Rüsch, Angermeyer, & Corrigan, 2005), driving it towards behavioral rejection to the mentally afflicted. These consequences are manifested in various quotidian encounters. For example, employers are more likely to reject applications from people with mental disorders (Bordieri & Drehmer, 1986), and the public is less likely to consider the patients who are sued for violent crimes as innocent (Steadman, 1981) etc. The empirical evidence which relates to stigmatization of traditional mass media actually mirrors the needs to investigate new media in this regard. Other than surging popularity, new media inherit interactive and participatory nature. These unique features are capable to snowball the frequency and extent of online interaction, and the aggregate discussions of netizens could construct "consensus reality" (Hume, 1984, p. xi), which is the agreed upon idea shared in community. Therefore, online information which attracts the netizens' eyeballs could kick off the construction of social reality, and any constructed beliefs could go viral widely.

For the current study about stigmatization of mental disorders in new media, depression was chosen as the focus because it is the most common mental disorder and is one of the main causes of disabilities around the world (World Health Organization, n.d.). To explore the stigmatization, the following research question was asked:

RQ1: What are the commonly-held beliefs that netizens have about depression?

Perceived Veracity of Online Information: Warranting Theory

On social networking sites, commercial websites, news websites and sites for special interests, netizens would place a certain degree of suspiciousness on the presented online information because of the potential existence of inaccuracies or duplicities (see also Ellison, Heino, & Gibbs, 2006; Flanagin & Metzger, 2007; Walther & Parks, 2002). As a result, the netizens would seek ways to evaluate and determine the veracity of the content before making judgments. For this, Warranting Theory provides a theoretical framework which offers insights about information evaluation in online situations. Insights from this theory have been borrowed to investigate impression formation in dating sites (Gibbs, Ellison, & Lai, 2010), social networking sites (e.g., Fox, Warber, & Makstaller, 2013; Hall, Pennington, & Lueders; Utz, 2014), decisions formation in the rating system (Flanagin & Metzger, 2013) and evaluations in online reviews (DeAndrea, Van Der Heide, & Vang, 2015).

According to Warranting Theory (Walther & Parks, 2002), when information consumers evaluate the online content, they would consider whether the original information producers could actually manipulate the content, and if so, the extent of doing so. Therefore, the warranting value conceptualizes netizens' perception and judgments about how immune a piece of information is against the producers' control. The gist is, the information consumers would tend to give greater credence to and endorse the information that the producers cannot and would not manipulate.

Thanks to the “Web 2.0” feature, netizens can get involved with the participatory online culture and contribute to produce user-generated content (Dijck, 2009). Under this context, netizens' comments and discussion are usually seen as more independent from the control of the information producers, especially for online newsrooms which are directing towards civic involvements (Rheingold, 2008). As the people's perception of the information is influenced by the netizens' discussion (Walther & Parks, 2002), study of stigmatization originated from new media could not be completed without examining accuracy of the reality constructed among netizens.

Therefore, after crystallizing and extracting the commonly-held beliefs that netizens have about depression, the researcher attempted to find out if the beliefs are scientifically accurate. The following research question was asked:

RQ 2: Do the depression characteristics described by netizens match the clinical descriptions for depression?

Besides, building on the theoretical considerations mentioned, the current study also aimed at finding out if the impression towards mental disorders of other audience would be influenced by the comments. Therefore, the following research question was also asked:

RQ3. Would the impression of other audience towards mental disorders be influenced as the audience read through the comments?

Method

For phase 1 of the study, netizens' online discussions about a plane crash tragedy were focused. From the discussions, the researcher targeted to identify the netizens' commonly-held beliefs about depression. The beliefs were then put against the diagnostic criteria for major depression in DSM-5, so as to see if the netizens' beliefs align with the clinical descriptions.

For phase 2, interviews were carried out to see if there were any attitudinal changes towards mental disorders in the participants after the participants have read through a thread of comments.

Phase 1

Case Studied

The current study specifically looked into the netizens' discussions about a tragedy happened on 24th March 2015. A German co-pilot, who was diagnosed with depression, hijacked an airbus and crashed into the Alps, killing 150 people. This case was chosen not just because it drew global attention, but also because it worried psychiatrists that the public would endorse the misconception which equalizes depression with aggression (Boffey & Willsher, 2015).

Online Media and Materials

Data was collected from the online platforms of a popular Hong Kong mainstream media, The Apple Daily. The Apple Daily is a local media which circulates newspapers, operates news website and manages its Facebook page for news updates. The news website and Facebook page of the Apple Daily were chosen for this study because the daily's online sites have the highest click-through rate among Hong Kong news media (Initium Media, 2015). For both its news website and Facebook page, netizens

are allowed to leave comments and discuss with others. Therefore, netizens' discussions and comments that were related to the tragedy in these two platforms were extracted and reviewed.

In order to crystallize any commonly-held beliefs and attitudinal perceptions of netizens towards depression, content analysis of the online information was performed subsequently. Afterwards, the commonly-held beliefs were put against the clinical diagnostic criteria for major depression listed in *The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (5th ed.; DSM-5; American Psychiatric Association, 2013) for comparison, to examine if there were any discrepancies.

Phase 2

Hypothetical Vignette

A hypothetical vignette was constructed for the second phase of the study. Hypothetical vignette is a useful means to probe into the beliefs of participants since it requires the participants to interpret the actions of the actors based on the participants' personal experiences and understanding (Hughes, 1998; Jenkins, Bloor, Fischer, Berney, & Neale, 2010). For the current study, the story plot was adapted from the plane-crash news, with the revision of the murderer's career and the way of mass murder. For the comment section of the vignette, the made-up netizens' discussions were also directly quoted from the real ones and adapted according to the hypothetical story plot. Since the participants were Hongkongers, the story plot was presented in Chinese and were translated into English for reporting by the researcher. The following hypothetical vignette and interview questions were presented to the participants:

You are reading a piece of news which happened in Germany. 150 people in a hospital were dead from water poisoning. Most of the deceased were patients, and a few of them were hospital staff members including a director and a vice-director of a medical laboratory. Police are investigating the incident. At the moment, key information about the hospital are known: In-patient charges of the hospital were low, and a new structural damage was found in a water pipe.

Besides, a few details about the vice-director of the laboratory were reported: He is the focus of the investigation currently since he is suspected to have carried out the water poisoning, he was an introverted person, and he liked jogging. The closed-circuit television has recorded that the vice-director locked himself alone in the laboratory and was busying around the now-damaged water pipe shortly before the incident. The police believe that the vice-director was not a terrorist though.

The hospital emphasized that the vice-director has passed annual body-checks which included psychological and mental health tests. Local psychiatrists stressed that no evidence about mental instability of the vice-director was found yet, and urged the public not to take mental disorders as the cause of the incident. The psychiatrists suggested the authority to look into different possibilities like political reasons as well.

Interview Questions

What is your initial reaction? What do you think was happening in the hospital? What do you think about the vice-director of the laboratory?

The following thread, which was adapted from the netizens' comments before the co-pilot's mental health history was revealed, was then presented to the participants. This section was also presented in Chinese, except the commonly-used English expressions, i.e., Omg, R.I.P.

- Netizen 1: *The vice-director was a bastard if he was really the murderer!!*
- Netizen 2: *Omg!*
- Netizen 3: *The psychological health of medical staff is very important.*
- Netizen 4: *Selfish!!!*
- Netizen 5: *R.I.P.*
- Netizen 6: *The results of having mental disorders could be disastrous.*
- Netizen 7: *The vice-director was similar to the HKSAR Chief Executive, taking Hong Kong people as funerary objects as he tries to kill himself!*
- Netizen 8: *(In response to Netizen 7) What is it to do with the HKSAR Chief Executive?*
- Netizen 9: *The vice-director must have mental disorder! Patients, may you rest in peace.*
- Netizen 10: *Was the vice-director mentally ill? Or else how could he kill 149 people?!*
- Netizen 11: *Maybe it was ISIS again, those terrorists are really idiotic, making so many people to go for extremism.*
- Netizen 12: *(In response to Netizen 11) If it was ISIS, the terrorists must have made the global announcement already.*
- Netizen 13: *I feel really bad...*
- Netizen 14: *Will the hospital compensate the families of the deceased?*
- Netizen 15: *You can never explain the actions of the mentally afflicted!*
- Netizen 16: *Shall medical staff take regular Psychology courses?*
- Netizen 17: *Very horrible.*
- Netizen 18: *No one can explain the behaviors of the mentally afflicted. Crazy.*
- Netizen 19: *R.I.P.*
- Netizen 20: *The vice-director will go to hell.*

Interview Questions

What is your reaction? What do you think was happening in the hospital? What do you think about the vice-director of the laboratory?

What do you think about the people with mental disorders?

Participants

So far, 10 Hong Kong participants were involved in this exploratory study. The participants' age ranged from 17 to 60, and their education backgrounds varied from primary school level to university graduate level. Besides, one of them has professional training in Psychology, while one of them had somewhat understanding of psychotic depression as her relative experienced a descent into the mental disorder three years ago.

Table 1.
Demographic Characteristics of Participants

<u>Participants</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
1	M	60	Driver	Primary	Nil
2	F	59	Clerk in cloth firm	Primary	Her sister experienced a descent into psychotic depression 3 years ago.
3	F	31	Manager in properties developer	Master	Nil
4	F	28	Government Officer	Undergraduate	Nil
5	F	27	Project Officer in NGO	Undergraduate	Nil
6	M	27	Sales Manager in digital company	Undergraduate	Nil
7	F	27	Vice President in bank	Undergraduate	Nil
8	F	26	Government Officer	Undergraduate	Nil
9	F	25	Student	Master	She had professional training in Psychology.
10	M	17	Student	Secondary	Nil

Findings and Interpretation

The online platforms covered the tragic news from 25th March 2015 to 31st March 2015, and 58 pieces of news reports were included in this study. Other than these, netizens' discussions were extracted from the two platforms for subsequent analysis. All the comments have been analyzed, including replies if any.

From the news sources, there was no clue to the happening of the tragedy till 27th March 2015. The reports from 25th to 26th March 2015 were mainly about descriptions of the aftermath, similar histories in the past and mere speculations which did not target any individual, like technical problems, airplane qualities etc. On 27th March 2015, breakthrough appeared and the news reported the emerging reason, which pointed to the suicidal and destructive behavior of the co-pilot, but no evidence related to his disturbed mental condition got surfaced until 28th March 2015. Interestingly, even though the news on 27th March 2015 did mention that the co-pilot had passed psychological testing, and it quoted local psychiatrists for their professional opinions, "It is difficult to deduce reasons related to the co-pilot's psyche at the moment... authority shall investigate other possible causes like political reasons, but not just looking into emotional or mental issues ("German co-pilot and suicide," 2015)". Yet, the dispositional attribution related to the suicidal intention offered on 27th March 2015 garnered the highest number of comments and signs of acknowledgement from the netizens, including "Thumbs-up",

“Thumbs-down” and “Share”. More importantly, comments related to the mental disorders of the general patients and the co-pilot surfaced largely regardless of how the psychiatrists advised.

Findings of Phase 1

In the exploratory stage of the study, four commonly-held beliefs were found in netizens’ comments and replies related to the mental conditions of general patients and also that of the co-pilot. They are illustrated with translated examples in the following, and all quotations were translated by the researcher unless stated otherwise.

Belief 1: Mental Disorders are Associated with Injurious Behaviors or Mass Murders

Regardless of the neutral advice from the mental health experts on 27th March 2015 and the lack of clear evidence related to the mental instability of the co-pilot on that day, netizens rushed to attribute mental disorders to this plane-crash mass murder. There were other reasons offered by the netizens, e.g., terrorism, social problems, and political conspiracy, but speculations about mental disorders outnumbered the other ones. In the netizens’ discussions, there were comments directing to the mentally afflicted in general. For this category, comments which pointed out that mental disorder is the cause of harmful behaviors were included. For example, “He had such a serious mental problem... So serious, that was why he killed so many people”, “Was he mentally ill? Or else how could he kill 149 people!”, “A mentally healthy person would not take 149 lives!!!...”, “He must have mental disorders! Passengers, may you rest in peace”, “For those who has psychological disorders, go get therapies instead of hurting others!”, “It is no point to find so many companies when one commits suicide! Unless that person has mental disorders!”.

Belief 2: Mental Disorders are Associated with Unpredictable, Inexplicable and Dangerous Behaviors

From the comments and replies, it could be seen that the netizens thought the behaviors of the mentally afflicted could not be explained and predicted. Moreover, the behaviors could pose threats to others. For this category, comments which pointed out that people with mental disorders are dangerous, inexplicable and unpredictable were included. For example, “Their crazy behaviors, I could only relate to TV drama but never expect in real world... And now for this murder, it happens in reality! I hope the deceased could rest in peace!”, “Such mental disorders are so dangerous, but people around that psychopath should have realized his problems!” Besides, generalization of the co-pilot’s problems to the general population of the mentally afflicted was often evident. This kind of notions separated the patients of mental disorders from the mainstream society, constituting what Goffman (1963) referred to as *stigmatization*.

Belief 3: Mental Disorders are Associated with Incapability, Even upon Recovery

Comments which related mental disorders to incapability were included in this category. For example, “It would be disastrous if people with mental disorders stir up troubles... So, for flight service, there should be more than one person in the cockpit.” Some netizens elaborated that the mentally afflicted are incapable even upon recovery, for example, “Even after recovery, people with depression histories should be monitored. These people should be transferred to some jobs that are less risky...The co-pilot was under medical attention for six months... the airline company should take the blame.” Similar comments related to incapability were found in the data collected.

Belief 4: Having Mental Disorders Implicates Others

This belief is about the consequence of having mental disorders. Related others of the mentally afflicted would be implicated since they would be interrogated about their abilities to observe. For this category, comments that blamed the social network of the mentally afflicted were included. For example, “He had severe mental disorder, why couldn’t his family members and friends tell at all??” The elaboration of this thought holds the related others responsible. “His family, siblings, all future generations would die horribly, there would be no place to bury them, and they would not have whole-body relics when they die, all will be shattered.”, “The airline management team has mental disorders, letting this mentally afflicted person be a co-pilot... by the way, the one who issued license to him also has mental disorders.” No matter how peripheral they were at the social network of the co-pilot, the related others were blamed. Even psychiatrists, who defended for other patients but not for the co-pilot as a murderer, were also censured, “the psychiatrists were politically incorrect idiots, and they are mentally afflicted too.”

Comparison with Clinical Criteria for Diagnosis

To diagnose a person, psychiatrists and psychologists would not make judgments merely based on one or two symptoms. The person has to fulfill a certain number of criteria for a period of time before he or she could be regarded as having an onset of depressive episode (5th ed.; DSM-5; American Psychiatric Association, 2013). However, since the aim of this study is to investigate whether the commonly-held beliefs match the clinical descriptions, the beliefs were straightforwardly put against the criteria to examine if they were sensible in clinical terms.

Since the news revolved around depression, the four commonly-held beliefs were compared with the diagnostic criteria for major depression listed in DSM-5. For beliefs 1, 2 and 4, they were not in the list. Although patients may have recurrent suicidal ideation or attempt, with or without a specific plan (5th ed.; DSM-5; American Psychiatric Association, 2013), there is no evidence that they would injure others. In other words, the patients might hurt themselves but not others. For belief 3, the patients are associated with incapability even upon recovery. However, according to the diagnostic criteria, “the symptoms cause clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational or other important areas of functioning” (5th ed.; DSM-5; American Psychiatric Association, 2013) before recovery. So, the notion is not supported and cannot be considered accurate.

The exploratory comparison of the commonly-held beliefs among netizens and the diagnostic criteria demonstrated the discrepancies between the netizens’ understanding and the scientific knowledge of the mental condition.

Findings of Phase 2

Before Reading the Netizens’ Comments

After reading the hypothetical vignette, all the participants despised the vice-director of the medical laboratory. Examples of quotes are illustrated in the following, and the quotes were translated from Cantonese to English by the researcher unless otherwise stated. Nine out of ten participants described the vice-director as “crazy”, “psychopath”, “abnormal”, “ridiculous”, and one of them said it was “a waste of social resources to raise a mentally ill moron”. Seven participants thought the vice-director had some mental or emotional problems, and one of them specifically referred to schizophrenia. It could be observed that the majority of the participants attempted to attribute the tragedy to mental disorders,

but they were not very sure as most of them talked about their speculations using questions, “is it related to his mental health?”, “Although the psychiatrists said there was no evidence, I still guess it was schizophrenia... Was he having hallucination? I guess he thought somebody tried to hurt him or kill him, so he carried out the mass murder?”

For the other three participants, one of them thought the vice-director was simply careless and made a mistake, another participant thought that the vice-director was haunted by ghosts, and the last one said she could not conclude anything merely based on that story.

After Reading the Netizens’ Comments

Those who were unsure if the vice-director has mental disorders became sure after reading the thread of comments, “I think I was right, as I said he had mental problems.”, “It must be mental disorders.”, “Mentally healthy people would not do this, no matter how messed up their lives are... so the vice-director must have mental disorders.” From their statements, it could be seen that they became much confirmed after reading the comments which were adapted from the news platforms, regardless of the psychiatrist’s neutral advice.

Among the three participants who did not attribute the murder to mental disorders, two of them changed their minds after reading the comments. The one who had thought the vice-director simply made a mistake said severe mental problem was the cause. The other participant who had thought of ghosts commented, “Maybe the vice-director was too stressful at work, and his workload made him mentally ill. That was why he killed so many people.”

From phase 2 of the study, it could be seen that participants’ causal attributions about the mass murder and their attitudes towards mental disorders were influenced by the comments thread. The participants endorsed the comments, felt more confirmed and even changed their minds regardless of the psychiatrists’ advice. Therefore, the warranting values of the netizens’ discussion could not be neglected.

As the online newsrooms are driving towards civic engagement (Rheingold, 2008), they are not expected to manipulate the netizens’ comments. Even if the editors do so, they could not control much provided that netizens are from the public, locally and globally. So, the warranting values of the netizens’ comments could be strengthened, and it could increase the chances for other audience to endorse the comments.

Conclusion

To conclude, the current study illustrated the preliminary attempt to map out the commonly-held beliefs towards depression among digital news audience based on a plane crash news, and the results indicated that the beliefs and the clinical diagnostic criteria for depression are far from alignment. Moreover, drawing upon Warranting Theory (Walter & Parks, 2002), this study explored the influence of netizens’ comments on other audience’s attitudes and opinions of mental disorders. It appeared that the warranting values of the comments could not be neglected since the majority of the participants endorsed the netizens’ comments regardless of the psychiatrists’ advice.

Implication

By offering preliminary evidence that the participatory culture of new media plays a role in influencing people's attitudes and opinions of mental disorders, further investigation of this study has potential to contribute to the literature. Even though medical labels can serve as care signals, the communication culture of the new media nowadays may actually exacerbate the downside of disclosing the labels. Because of the increasingly prevalent stigmatization against mental disorders, it is within expectation that the patients would keep their conditions highly confidential (Link, Struening, Rahav, Phelan, & Nuttbrock, 1997). However, since constructive open dialogue is a main way to alleviate stigmatization and also the social burdens on the patients, dynamics of media communication and knowledge of mental disorders should be placed in the agenda of effective interventions. It is important for the general public to get aware that they are actually playing a powerful role in mental health domain as the first step.

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DANIELLE KA LAI LEE attains Master's level in Psychology. She works for research in Communication discipline. Her interests include social dynamics of new media, identity construction, leadership and adolescent behaviors. She also has a keen appreciation for linguistics, particularly the relationships between language and social implications. She can be reached by: leedaniellekl@gmail.com